

Index

- Abramovich, Roman, 83
 accountability, *see also* electoral
 accountability
 definitions of “maximal” and
 “minimal,” 108
 variable measures of, 107, 108
 Agrarian Party, 75, 167
 All-Russia People’s Front, 137
 All-Russian Classification of Kinds of
 Economic Activity (OKVED), 102
 Allan, Richard, 4
 asset disclosures law, 255–257
 authoritarian regimes
 business–government relations in, 40
 democratic institutions in, 27
 elite dynamics in, 178
 political party affiliations in, 154
 resilience of, 27, 28
 threat to, 27
 Avdonin, Vladimir, 137
- ballot choice
 campaign costs and, 141
 constraining deputies’ behavior, 138
 empirical analysis of, 148–152
 hypotheses about, 144–147
 in Russia, system of, 140
 industry affiliation and, 152
 international practices of, 139
 legislative influence and, 141
 Bashkortostan, Republic of
 regional legislature of, 87
 Bastrykin, Alexander, 44
 Baturina, Elena, 133
 blind trusts, 253–254
 Bloomberg, Michael, 3, 208
 Borovoi, Konstantin, 23, 82
 Borzenov, Ilya, 68
 Brazil
 anti-corruption measures, 217
 businessperson politicians in, 24
 electoral system, 74
 firms’ access to finances in, 33
 political alliances in, 74
 BRICS countries, 22
 Bryntsalov, Vladimir, 23, 82
 bureaucratic appointments, 39–40
 business associations, *see* trade associations
 businessperson candidacy
 as direct strategy, 30, 40
 as non-market strategy, 5–6, 8, 11, 26
 benefits of, 16, 173, 185
 by industry sector, 118, 119
 commitment problem behind, 30–31, 60,
 69
 cost of, 11, 31, 67
 cross-national comparison of, 244
 dataset of, 79, 87, 90
 decision-making about how to run to
 office, 14–15, 31, 173
 definition of, 8, 80

- democratic institutions and, 70–72, 117, 244
- determinants of, 102, 111, 112, 117, 120
- economic competition and, 13, 31, 61–63, 102
- economic interests and, 61, 179
- electoral rules and, 28, 137, 178
- importance of local ties of, 76, 146
- in countries undergoing political transitions, 243
- in ethnic republics, 116
- in personalist regimes, 66, 106
- incentives for, 8, 10, 28, 63, 77, 109, 241
- measurement of, 79, 259–263
- party institutionalization and, 64, 65, 104, 115–116
- political party affiliation of, 15, 137, 138, 154, 179
- risks of, 9, 101
- voters and, 12, 71–72
- businessperson politicians
- as city mayors, 19, 210–213, 220–226, 229–235
 - as policymakers, 16, 18–21, 213–219
 - as regional governors, 83
 - assets disclosure of, 252, 255
 - autonomy of, 144
 - behavior in office, 26–27, 213
 - conflict of interests of, 28, 29, 246
 - cooling-off period for, 248–249
 - decision-making of, 28, 211
 - demands for anti-corruption measures, 217
 - governments and, 5, 18, 28–29
 - in legislative branches, 3, 4, 4, 19
 - in Thailand, influence of, 8
 - law enforcement and, 57
 - management skills of, 18, 213, 217
 - personality of, 26, 76, 77
 - political preferences of, 137, 213–215, 287, 288
 - private sector experience of, 26, 221–223
 - promises of, 49, 50, 211
 - public monitoring of, 256–257
 - reasons for running for office, 9–11, 72, 208, 209, 243, 245
 - rent-seeking behavior, 16–18, 20, 26, 167, 209, 235
 - restrictions on working in private sector, 24, 247
 - social skills of, 217
 - spending priorities of, 19, 213–219, 229, 233
 - transparency requirements for, 255
 - voters and, 71–72, 244
- businessperson politicians in Russia
- by geographic area, 91
 - case study of, 5, 21–25
 - committee life of, 42–43
 - deputy requests of, 43–45
 - gender of, 93, 94
 - harassment of rivals by, 50
 - influence of, 8, 42–43
 - interactions between firms and, 51–52, 54
 - overview of, 99
 - polymaking of, 47, 51–52, 213–219, 277, 280, 284
 - political affiliation of, 95
 - powers of, 42
 - promises made by, 49, 50, 211
 - public recognition of, 96
 - rate over time of, 92
 - return on political investment, 47, 181
 - social and networking opportunities, 45
 - success rate in winning office, 95
 - voters' evaluation of, 46
- campaign contributions
- as strategy of corporate political activity, 32
 - characteristics of, 33
 - in Russia, 33
 - problem of effectiveness of, 9, 53, 56, 59
 - return on, 33, 184, 186
 - risks of, 11, 53, 56, 58
- campaign costs, 45, 66, 67, 106
- Carnegie Democracy Index, 107, 202
- case selection, 21–22, 24
- Central Election Commission of the Russian Federation (CEC), 87, 105
- China's 11th National People's Congress, 41
- Chinese Communist Party, 40
- Chirkunov, Oleg, 219
- Civic Union, 23, 82
- closed joint-stock companies (ZAOs), 175, 176

- Coarsened Exact Matching (CEM)
 technique, 196
- collective action, 74, 132–243
- commitment problem
 behind businessperson candidacy, 30–31, 60, 69
 informal contract, 9, 13, 59, 74, 134
 relationship to institutions, 59, 60, 243
 reputation, 10, 30, 57, 59, 60, 115
 third-party enforcement, 57
- Communist Party of the Russian Federation
 attraction of candidates by, 167
 base support of, 95
 businesspeople in, 158
 expenditures of, 104
 firms' affiliation with, 163
 in municipalities, 223
 in regional elections, 88
 regional branches of, 95
 state-owned enterprises and, 162
 Ulyanovsk branch, 53
- Comparative Candidates Survey, 141
- conflict of interest (COI), 86, 246
- cooling-off periods, 248–249
- corporate governance, 6, 68, 69, 80, 139, 175
- corporate political activity
 cost of, 73
 definition of, 7, 183
 establishing causality, 198
 returns to, 48, 184
 theories of, 198–199
- corporation-based parties, 74–75
- corruption, 56, 178, 233, 250, *see also* rent-seeking
- democracy
 measures of, 72, 107, 108, 202
- democratic institutions
 businessperson candidacy and, 70–72, 117, 244, 275
 in non-democratic regimes, 27
- deputy request (“*deputatskiy zapros*”)
 as form of political influence, 43–45
 at federal level, 45
 effectiveness of, 44
- direct corporate political strategies
vs. indirect strategies, 36, 49
 forms of, 36
 problems of effectiveness of, 9, 49
- divestiture laws, 249, 252, 254
- Dolgov, Mikhail, 53
- economic competition
 as driving force for running for office, 58, 63
 businessperson candidacy and, 13, 31, 61–63
 effect on returns to office, 205
 HHI index for measuring, 102, 103
 impact on corporate strategy, 77
 in Russian regional politics, 133–134
 party choices and, 170
 political rivalry and, 61–64, 77
- Effective Number of Parties per Sector (ENPS), 169, 171
- Eldarkhanova, Irina, 51
- elections, *see* municipal elections, *see* regional elections
- electoral accountability, 12, 26, 30, 69, 72, 244
- electoral systems
 in post-Communist countries, 139
 in Russia, 140
 mixed, 139, 140
- European University of Saint Petersburg (EUSP)
 removal of license of, 44
- expropriation, 7, 61, 125, 202
- financial-industrial groups, 82, 83
- Fiorina, Carly, 3
- firm delegates
 board members as, 172, 176, 177
 firm directors as, 172
 hypotheses about, 173–174
 legal structures of firms and choice of, 174, 176
 non-directors as, 173, 174
 political experience of, 173
 sectoral competition and choice of, 178
 selection of, 170–173
 strength of political parties and choice of, 173
 summary statistics of choice of, 176
- firm survey
 data analysis, 123
 data collection, 123
 geographical scope of, 123
 overview of, 54, 123
 results of, 125–127

- firms
- access to policymaking, 6, 47
 - access to state procurement, 17, 20, 180, 182, 201, 211
 - affiliation with political parties, 15
 - board of directors of, 80, 89, 175
 - campaign contributions by, 49
 - collective action by, 74, 132–243
 - comparison of “candidate” vs. “non-candidate,” 96, 97
 - corporate political activities of, 6–7, 31, 32, 63, 64, 73
 - correlation between businessperson candidacy and size, 68, 115
 - delegation of candidates into office by, 63, 68, 102, 104, 107, 119, 134, 198
 - direct representation within bureaucracy, 39
 - direct strategies of, 8
 - exporting behavior of, 116
 - extortion and raiding threats, 50, 109, 127
 - funding of independent candidates by, 82, 154
 - legal structures of, 174
 - mobilization of voters by, 33, 68, 139, 191
 - ownership and management of, 69, 80, 109
 - performance improvement of, 184
 - political strategies of, 11–13, 18, 30–31, 48, 49, 52, 61, 63, 77, 115
 - practice of hiring former politicians, 37–38
 - protection against shirking, 55
 - resource constraints, 48
 - sectoral distribution of, 97, 98
- Fyodorov, Boris G., 23
- golden parachutes, 38
- Gorbachev, Mikhail, 210
- government spending
- business preferences, 287, 288
 - on economic infrastructure, 237
 - on social infrastructure, 19, 84, 233, 237
 - priorities, 212, 216, 237
- Grover Norquist’s pledge, 56
- Gudkov, Gennady, 86
- Herfindahl-Hirschmann Index (HHI), 102
- in-house lobbyists, 34, 60
- income and asset disclosures (IAD)
- systems, 255
- incompatibility rules, 251
- independent candidates, 82, 136–138, 154, 166, 167, 169
- indirect corporate political strategies
- vs.* outright bribery, 32
 - vs.* direct strategies, 30, 48, 49
 - definition of, 32
 - types of, 30
- individual entrepreneurs, 89–91, 96, 236, 260
- industrial sectors
- classification codes, 102
 - competition between, 103, 115
 - Herfindahl-Hirschmann Index (HHI) values for, 102, 103
- Inteko (Russian construction company), 133
- interest group politics, 25
- Japan
- “revolving door” mechanisms in, 38
 - practice of *ofamakudari*, 38
- Just Russia (political party), 104, 157, 163, 164, 223
- Kaluga region
- foreign investment policy, 85
- Kamchatka region
- businesspeople in legislature of, 133
- Kerry, John, 254
- Khlopinin, Aleksandr, 83
- Khodorkovsky, Mikhail, 44
- Klein, Ivan, 210, 211
- Knyshev, Alexei, 86
- Koshelov, Roman, 219
- Kovin, Vitalii, 130
- Kress, Victor, 2
- Krotov, Evgeny, 180
- Kruger, Karl, 210
- Lebedev, Platon, 44
- legislatures, *see also* regional legislatures
- as political institutions, 18, 27
 - autonomy of, 68
 - businesspeople in national, 4
 - in authoritarian regimes, 22, 27, 185
 - returns to, 183

- Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR), 133, 163
 Life in Transition Survey (LiTS), 214, 287, 288
 loans (leverage), 2, 8, 13, 42, 61, 85, 182, 184, 198, 199
 lobbying, *see also* in-house lobbyists
 vs. bribery, 36
 as strategy of corporate political activity, 32
 benefits of, 34, 35
 cost of, 32, 34
 efficiency of, 9, 54
 forms of, 34
 in Russia, 35, 36
 in the United States, 34, 99
 of subnational governments, 99
 risks of, 11
 Luzhkov, Yuri, 133

 Maltsev, Boris, 129
 mandate divide, 143
 market strategy, definition of, 6
 mayors
 autonomy of, 212
 corrupt procurement conducted by, 233
 elected *vs.* appointed, 220, 221, 228
 impact on government performance, 231, 233, 235
 political party affiliation, 222
 power of, 212, 220
 spending on economic infrastructure, 229, 231
 spending on social infrastructure, 231, 233
 McCrary tests, 191, 228
 media freedom, measures of, 107, 108
 Meduza media outlet, 35
 Medvedev, Dmitrii, 2
 moonlighting politicians, 3, 24, 250, 251
 Morozov, Alexander, 156
 multilevel modeling, 111, 112
 municipal elections
 analysis of, 221, 228–229
 businesspeople winners of, 221, 223
 municipalities
 vs. regional legislatures, 235
 budget of, 219, 224, 226, 277
 competition between parties in, 222, 223
 revenue of, 225
 subsidies to, 225

 Nenetskii Autonomous Okrug
 legislature of, 87
 non-market strategy
 businessperson candidacy as type of, 5, 6, 8, 123, 243
 definition of, 6
 factors affecting value of, 17
 nondemocratic regimes, 27, *see also* authoritarian regimes
 Northrop Grumman, 39
 Notyag, Vyacheslav, 51
 Novgorod region
 economic development of, 85

 Obama, Barack, 254
 Omsk Regional Duma
 cost of winning the seat in, 46
 open joint-stock companies (OAOs), 175, 176
 opposition parties
 as gatekeepers, 155
 at local level, 128, 154, 221, 223
 businessperson politicians in, 89, 124, 161
 financing of, 88, 130
 ideology of, 158
 persistence of, 138
 popular support of, 161
 power in legislature, 201
 returns to office from joining, 203
 United Russia and, 17, 88, 138

 Pakhomov, Mikhail, 24
 pantouflage system in France, 38
 party choice
 analysis of, 163–165
 costs and benefits of, 154
 economic competition and, 170
 firm ownership and, 161, 164
 firm's financial resources and, 160
 hypotheses about, 160–163
 in competitive authoritarian regimes, 154
 sectoral variation and, 162, 167–169
 significance of, 154
 summary statistics of, 163, 164
 party lists
 diversity of, 160
 limits of seats in, 161
 policymaking of deputies on, 143
 practice of selling spots on, 142, 156

- vulnerability of deputies on, 143
- Party of Economic Freedom, 82
- Patrioty Russia party, 136
- Perm Region
 - business associations in, 131
 - businessperson candidacy in, 128, 129, 132
 - competition for resources, 128
 - conflicts over agricultural subsidies, 128
 - democratic development of, 13, 127
 - economic competition in, 63
 - firm cooperation in, 128
 - firm director investigation in, 198
 - industries of, 13, 127
 - monopolistic businesses in, 129
 - natural resources, 127
 - party institutionalization in, 130
 - sectoral competition in, 128
- personalist regimes, 66, 106
- Podvintsev, Oleg, 129
- policymaking by businessperson politicians
 - adoption of pro-business policies, 213, 231
 - adoption of pro-growth policies, 214–216, 257
 - budget constraints, 218
 - challenges of, 217
 - data collection on, 219–221, 223, 225
 - differences over economic, 214
 - effect of private sector experience on, 221–223
 - examples of, 219
 - hypotheses about, 215–216, 218–219
 - impact on government efficiency, 216–219, 233, 234, 239
 - in regional legislatures, 235, 236
 - infrastructure spending, 215, 216, 223, 239
 - selection of contractors, 224–225
 - with regards to public procurement, 218–219
- political connections
 - benefits of, 36–38, 61, 202, 208
 - democracy and, 203
 - factors affecting value of, 201
 - political competition and, 201
 - revenue increase due to, 208
 - risks of, 37, 49, 59, 205
 - state contracts and, 199, 200
- political parties, *see also* opposition parties
 - around the world, rise of, 74
 - as gatekeepers to regional legislatures, 142
 - branding of, 59
 - businesspeople relations with, 11, 15, 65, 66, 73, 158
 - candidate selection by, 156
 - characteristics of strong, 64, 65
 - commitment problem and, 59, 243
 - control of politicians by, 58–59, 64
 - corporation-based, 74–75
 - discipline in, 11, 31, 130
 - election expenditures by, 104–105
 - electoral competition between, 143, 222
 - financing of, 88, 157, 178
 - ideology of, 157, 158
 - institutionalization of, 59, 64, 65, 105, 116, 120
 - lobbying and, 13
 - politician shirking and, 64
 - practice of selling seats by, 46, 156
 - regional branches of, 15, 137
 - reputation of, 11, 13
 - rules of membership rolls, 155
 - systemicvs. non-systemic, 88
 - volatility of, 64–65
- political rivalry
 - economic competition and, 61–64
- political selection, 246
- politicians
 - contract agreements of, 55–57
 - political parties and, 58–59
 - problem of enforcement of, 57
 - punishing mechanisms of, 57, 59
 - trustworthiness of, 54–55
- Pribylovsky, Vladimir, 82
- Primorsky Krai
 - business-political relationships in, 133
- Professional Market and Company
 - Analysis System (SPARK), 89, 90
 - property rights protection, 7, 125, 198, 201
- proportional representation (PR) systems, 87, 106, 127, 178, *see also* ballot choice
- public procurement
 - amount of, 225
 - at regional level, 198, 212, 219, 225, 226
 - businessperson politicians' policy on, 218, 280
 - efficiency of, 20, 218

- firms' access to, 17, 20, 182, 199, 211
 - in various industrial sectors, 225, 229, 233
- Putin, Vladimir, 39, 84, 94, 138, 154–155
- reelection, 47, 58, 72, 211
- regional elections
 - all-pay auctions in, 141
 - businessperson candidates in, 88, 90–93
 - charisma of candidates in, 142
 - competition in, 88
 - cost of, 4, 32, 46, 141
 - data collection about, 12–14, 19, 87, 89–90
 - dual-listing strategy, 148
 - individual entrepreneurs in, 89
 - national law on, 87
 - political parties in, 88, 140
 - political strategists behind, 141
 - professional candidates in, 93
 - proportional representation (PR) route in, 142–144
 - public sector candidates in, 92
 - selection of winning candidates in, 140
 - self-financing of candidates in, 141
 - single-member district (SMD) races, 142, 143
 - size of, 87
- regional legislatures
 - vs.* municipalities, 235
 - advantages of studying, 86
 - budgets of, 236, 238
 - businesspeople and, 82, 85, 235–237
 - democratic, 244
 - economic expenditures of, 237
 - electoral calendar of, 87
 - operational expenditures of, 238
 - powers of, 84, 85, 235
 - pro-business policies in, 236
 - responsibilities of, 84–86, 277
 - social expenditures of, 84, 237
- regression discontinuity design (RDD)
 - covariate balance checks, 192
 - description of, 16, 181, 186, 189–191
 - for municipal analysis, 226–228
- rent-seeking
 - behavior of businessperson politicians, 16–18, 20, 26, 167, 209, 235
 - combating, 205, 217
 - economic infrastructure spending and, 212, 216
 - political competition and, 182
 - reverse revolving door, 39–40, 248
 - revolving door politics, 38, 242
 - Romney, Mitt, 3, 219, 253
 - running for office
 - cost of, 45–46, 67, 69, 106, 245
 - reputational risks of, 46
- Russia
 - administrative divisions of, 84
 - bureaucracy, 40
 - business associations, 131
 - business ownership, 80
 - business–government relations, 24, 35, 38, 53–55
 - campaign contributions, 33
 - construction industry, 20, 104
 - democratic development of, 22
 - federalism, 84
 - forms of political influence in, 43
 - governors' appointments, 39
 - legal environment in, 24
 - mixed-member electoral rules, 14
 - myth of “power vertical,” 21
 - opportunities for alternative political forces, 88
 - political competition, 20, 21, 76, 77, 87, 99, 202
 - political parties, 65, 75–76, 154–156
 - political system, 21, 106, 154
 - rise of personalist leadership, 66
 - voters' expectations from government, 20
- Russian Party of Life, 164
- Russian Pensioners Party (RPP), 160, 164
- Russian Socialist Party, 23
- Russian State Duma
 - deputies from private sector in, 41, 82, 86
 - political parties in, 104
 - proportional electoral system of, 106
 - removal of politicians from, 86
- Ryazan Region
 - business associations in, 131
 - industries of, 13, 128
 - political development of, 128, 129
- Savchenko, Evgeny, 133
- Schpagin, Sergei, 58
- shirking
 - examples of, 50–55
 - extreme cases of, 59

- firms and problem of, 55
 - for political reasons, 52
 - increasing rate of, 52
 - possibility of, 61
 - reasons behind, 50–51
- Shpeter, Aleksander, 1, 2, 180, 181, 241
- Silver, Sheldon, 250
- Silvinit (Russian company), 64
- single member plurality district (SMDP)
 - races, 144, 148, 149, 178, 187, 188,
 - see also* ballot choice
- Sipila, Juha, 219
- SPARK Professional Market and Company
 - Analysis System, 259–261
- stakeholder alliances, 74
- state capture, 27
- state-owned enterprises (SOEs)
 - vs.* private firms, 117
 - businessperson candidacy and, 98, 110,
 - 117
 - competition between, 98, 99
 - directors of, 98–99, 161
 - in China, 99
 - measurement of, 109
 - statistics of municipal and federal, 161
 - support for political parties, 161–162
- structural power, 6
- tax benefits, 35, 74, 81, 83, 89, 184, 198,
- 239
- Tomsk Housing Construction Company
(TDSK), 2, 129, 180, 181
- Tomsk Region
 - construction industry in, 1, 2, 129, 180
 - political development of, 128, 130
 - regional specifics of, 13
- trade associations
 - chambers of commerce, 132
 - collective actions by, 243
 - firms' membership in, 73
 - goals of, 131
 - political engagement of, 10, 73
 - statistics of, 132
 - weaknesses of, 12, 131, 134
- Trubitsyn, Igor, 136, 137
- Trump, Donald, 3, 208
- US Congress
 - appointments to, 3
 - blind trusts regulations, 253–254
 - code of ethics, 254
 - divestiture laws, 252
 - Ethics in Government Act, 253
 - policy on assets of members, 252, 254
 - private sector employees in, 3, 247
- Unified State Register of Individual
Entrepreneurs (EGRIP) database, 89
- Uniform State Register of Individual
Entrepreneurs (EGRIP), 260
- Union of Right Forces, 88
- United Russia (political party)
 - as ruling party, 94, 154, 155, 201
 - attraction of candidates by, 167
 - benefits of membership in, 159
 - business affiliation with, 89, 162–164
 - control of municipalities by, 222
 - divisions within, 75
 - regional representation of, 22, 53, 88,
 - 94, 118, 128
 - rise of popularity, 75
- United States
 - “cooling-off” laws, 248, 249
 - business participation in politics in, 7
 - corporate political activities, 184
 - corruption scandals, 250
 - cost of running for office in, 69
 - Honest Leadership and Open
Government Act (HLOGA), 248
 - incompatibility laws, 250
 - lobbying and campaign contributions in,
 - 184
 - Stop Trading on Congressional
Knowledge (STOCK) Act, 256
 - tax law, 39
- Uralkaliy, 63
- vertical integration, 5, 10, 60
- Volodin, Vyecheslav, 53
- Volsky, Arkady, 23
- vote buying, 72, 107
- voter mobilization, 33, 68, 191
- World Bank BEEPS Surveys, 216
- Yabloko (political party), 88
- Yeltsin, Boris, 83, 84, 155
- Yudin, Vladimir, 44
- Yukos affair, 44
- Zemin, Ilya, 47
- Zyryanov, Sergei, 62
- Zyuganov, Gennadiy, 158